Discussion:

Through the Dead-ends of the Legends About Krk-kardaš and Beyond

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In memoriam Petri Ilievski

Abstract: On the 28 October 2012 in the cathedral church of Bitola were canonized as saints the “Forty Monk-martyrs of Bitola” and an appropriate short book appeared, prepared by the Bigorski brotherhood. It is obvious that the monks engaged knew of a paper by Aleksandar Sterjovski, one that encouraged me to reexamine the circumstances. After I searched through the available literature, it seemed inevitable to conclude that there is no decisive evidence for the existence, not to speak of sanctity of such local characters from the time of the Ottoman conquest. There are many versions of the relevant legend, Christian and Muslim, in the first category the dominant motif being that of warrior-monks, defending the town by the sword, while in the second that of warriors similar to those witnessed especially in the cults of Central Asia. It appears possible that on the same place where we today find the church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste or on another, closer to the Reverse-grinding watermill, there was a church by the same name already in pre-Ottoman times and so the partially known life of these ancient Christian saints could be confused with the local legend for the conquest of Bitola together with that church. Or even that there was a “Krk-kardaš” (Christian?) before Krk-kardaš (Muslim?), which could lead to a fatal confusion of legends and locations. In other words, the executed canonization is baseless and irresponsible.

Key words: Bitola, legends, monks, warriors, churches, mosques, saints.

More than a year has passed from the day when the alleged forty martyrs of Bitola were canonized as saints by the Macedonian Orthodox Church – the Archbishopric of Ohrid on the 45th anniversary of its autocephaly in the cathedral dedicated to the Holy Great Martyr Demetrius the Myrrh-streaming of Thessalonika. It was the 15/28 October 2012 when this unusual event united many clerics, monks and faithful people in a cheerful celebration. The canonization was carried out in the spirit of Russian Orthodox tradition, with a pannychida and liturgy, and only an informative and rather suggestive selection of data was given out about the then concluded procedure. The full explanation is available in the shape of a small book that I bought and read soon after it appeared and became even less convinced by the justification

offered, being already scandalized by a paper of Aleksandar Sterjovski on the toponym *Krk-kardaš*. Following friendly and just recommendations, I finally decided to write a genuine scientific paper on the oral and written tradition about *Krk-kardaš*. I was further encouraged to publish such a paper by the shocking fact that, as far as I know, nobody else out of the many that should be interested, many of whom are incomparably more qualified to write on this subject than me, nobody, I say, reacted in a scientific or any other manner. What is even more striking is that the authors of the book, monks from the Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Bigorski), used and give in their bibliography the contribution by professor Sterjovski that scandalized me, but obviously not them.

First, a due bit of topography. The place called *Krk-kardaš* (Turkish for “forty brothers/brethren”) is located on the north-east edge of what today appears as a hollow surrounded by hills over the left bank of the river Dragor. This hilly formation is a part of the Snegov-Oblakovo hill mass, which expands in an east-west direction just opposite the promontory of Baba over the ancient city of Herakleia Lynkou. Somewhere here may have been one of the palaces from which Gabriel Radomir, the son of Tsar Samuel, ruled what was left from their
medieval state in the central Balkans after the terrible Battle of Belasica in 1014 AD, although it seems that it was already there even previously, when he was Samuel’s co-ruler. His cousin from Samuel’s and by the same killed brother Aaron, John Vladislav, after killing Gabriel in revenge, (re)constructed the fortress of Bitola, which he recorded on the famous Bitola slab.

This medieval inscription on marble was accidentally discovered when the oldest mosque in the town, the Eski-džami (Turkish for “Ancient mosque”), constructed by Sungur Čauš-bey (son of “Abdullah”, so a local convert) in 1434/5 AD and being actually an adaptation of a preexisting church on the site, was destroyed. This was unnecessarily done when in the autumn of 1956 a new regulation plan was being carried out and this mosque occupied part of the planned pavement of a new street. Within its foundations were discovered other ancient walls built of stone and lime mortar. Later, during the digging of foundations for a civil apartment building next to the former mosque, some Christian relics were found, a medallion of St. Marc the Evangelist and a medallion of another saint, together with the upper part of a scepter in the building next to the former mosque, some Christian relics were found, a medallion of St. Marc the Evangelist and a medallion of another saint, together with the upper part of a scepter in the building next to the former mosque. The many ornamental marble fragments and inscriptions (spolia) probably originate from the area of Herakleia, but it is not clear whether they were already built in the church. Another scholar from Bitola, Gjorgji Dimovski-Colev, in a footnote in one of his papers about Bitola refers to the generally unavailable Chronicle of Ace Kanare, kept then by his daughter in the town of Balčik, Bulgaria, in which he had written down a legend from Bitola exactly about the adaptation of this church into a mosque by using the very material of the destroyed previously great and wealthy church up on the hill, dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of 17

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Sebaste. It is common knowledge that the modern church on the spot is dedicated to the same group of Christian saints.

The Chronicle of Ace Kanare is very important because it is the only testimony that even in pre-Ottoman times there existed on the same (?) hill a church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. Professor Colev doesn’t give a date for the creation of this chronicle, but one may well assume that it comes from about the same time as the different testimonies of Jovan Hadži-Vasiljević and his contemporary Marko K. Cepenkov do, which are dealt with in detail by professor Sterjovski, but perhaps not in full detail. Therefore one is inclined to try and sharpen the picture they offer only after repeating the words of this trustworthy scientific predecessor.

Sterjovski writes that according to Hadži-Vasiljević, who stayed twice in Bitola at the very end of the XIX century, the first time as a traveler and scientist (1894) and the second as an employee of the Serbian Consulship in Bitola (January-May 1899), Krk-kardaš was “a tomb of a renowned Muslim holy woman” and it was actually called “Arapli Krk-kardaš”. On this place in his time there was a tomb in which an Arab woman had been buried together with her forty sons that died there. It became a renowned holy place where every Friday the Muslims of Bitola lit candles and oil-lamps. Marko K. Cepenkov, the famous collector of Macedonian folklore, stayed in Bitola on several occasions before 1888 and noted down the most important legends about the town, among which also the one about the Muslim sanctuary of Krk-kardaš. It was built out of stone and had giant dimensions: ten paces in length and as much in width. At the time when Cepenkov saw it, it was open, but with nothing to indicate that people had been buried there. The legend connected to it that he gives is similar to the previous one: a Turkish woman was buried there together with her forty children that she gave birth to within twenty four hours, and they all died together with her on a single day and were then buried in a single grave. That is how the place got its name.

It is clear that according to both authors from the end of the XIX century there is no doubt about the Muslim character of this sanctuary. The difference in the ethnic determinative used for the alleged Muslim holy woman is of no importance here, but the same adjective for the name of the place is an internal confirmation of Hadži-Vasiljević’s account. Both record the same legend, which well corresponds to the similar ones of Central Asia and other regions of Eurasia. It is also known that Friday is considered a day of prayer by Muslims. Only Cepenkov’s description of the grave seems very unusual. Sterjovski even tries to calculate the probable number of people that could be properly buried in a place of such dimensions as not more than fifteen. He may have gone far astray here. Instead, a reconsideration of the character of the place Cepenkov describes is in order. There is no doubt, it perfectly matches the basis of a ruined church. But why not go back to the source here and see what one can independently make out of this legend.

Legend No 657 (KRK KARDAŠ): “Going to the Reverse-grinding watermill (Kriva vodenica) over the town of Bitola, when you come to enter among the Badembalari (Vineyards...
with almond-trees) vineyards, so called by the Turks (Ottoman and Muslims in general), there is a Turkish grave, encircled by a wall of stone, about ten paces long and as wide, and inside the grave is empty, covered by grass. In that grave were buried in ancient times a Turkish girl with her forty children. That girl gave birth to forty children within twenty four hours and they were all male, small as little birds and they all died. At last, after the girl had given birth to all of them, she also died and was buried there together with her forty children. And this grave came to be renowned and it was called Krk kardaš. The Turks consider those forty brothers to be holy, so they told old women to light candles and an oil-lamp to them every Friday.” He adds in a footnote: *In our town of Prilep there is a graveyard near the village of Varoš called “Krk kardaš” (krk kardaš – forty brothers). Those forty brothers were not born of one mother, as it is in the town of Bitola, but were made brothers by oath in order to execute prince Marko and they were all killed by Marko, so they were buried there.*

It becomes clear that Sterjovski didn’t use and report to the reader all the information that Cepenkov gives. The Reverse-grinding watermill was located at the entrance of the late Ottoman town of Bitola (Manastîr), beyond the Kara-köprü (Crn most, Black bridge), on the left bank of the river Dragor. Just over it were the Badembalari (Badem-bağlari) vineyards with almond-trees as boundaries between them. Cepenkov says that the Turkish grave he saw was just at the entrance in this area, which can in no way be brought into agreement with the known location of modern Krk-kardaš on the very opposite, north-east edge of the imagined hollow. This gives sound ground to the assumption that one is actually dealing here with the foundations of a church. It remains unclear why Cepenkov connects this “grave” to the Muslim legend. No matter whether it is a misunderstanding or not, further evidence may be added for the existence of a church in the area. Recently two parecclesiae (Sv. Petka) were constructed on the two opposite banks very close to the alleged remains of the old church and one of them has been displaced during the construction of a new round-flow bridge next to the Black bridge. However, this is no scientific proof, but probably the consequence of a tradition mentioned by Mehmed Tefik-bey, who was the director of the Ottoman Military gymnasium in Bitola and a history teacher there at the end of the Ottoman rule. In 1911 he wrote:

*“Why is this town called Manast’r? On the right bank of Dragor there were forty one churches and as many watermills for their support. Similarly, on the left bank of Dragor were built twenty nine churches and the same number of watermills for their support. At these churches were gathered the population of the Bitola field on holidays, and there were performed their religious rites. Because the surface upon which the town of Bitola extends today was covered with monasteries (churches), this town was called Manast’r.*

*According to another legend, the town got this name for the huge church that existed over Bitola, at the contemporary bridge called Kara-köprü, on its right side, at the place where today the residence of the great Riza-bey exists, and in which church all the inhabitants of the settlements in the Bitola field could enter on holidays.”*

*It is known that the residence (konaci) of Riza-bey was, as Mehmed Tefik-bey writes, on the inward (towards the town) side of the Black bridge, on the left bank of the river, and the remains of the church I am trying to identify with Cepenkov’s “grave” should be on the same bank, but the outward side of the bridge. This, however, if a misunderstanding, is of an*

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13 A local old man told me that the mill got its name for the opposite direction of the rotation of the grinding stone (to the left). He also confirmed that it was located just under the modern Bitola prison.

14 Tefîk, pp.16-7.
incomparably smaller degree than the assumed one of Cepenkov. Perhaps one should also take into consideration the remains of the great church on a high hill north of the "grave", although that one would definitely not have its own adjoined watermill.15

It appears then that the place Cepenkov described is not Krk-kardaš and there is no trace of the existence of another Krk-kardaš in the surroundings of Bitola, different from the place designated with that name today. There is on the hill Tepsija a grave that is today rarely venerated by Muslims, but with normal dimensions for a single burial.16 Having checked one of his sources and proven that the public hadn’t got the full picture by Sterjovski, one is justly inclined to check the other as well. Here are the very words of Hadži-Vasiljević:

“Under the Bair, which is a hill on the north-west side of the town, there stands a grave of a renowned Muslim holy woman and it is called Arapli Krk Kardaš. The Turks light every Friday oil-lamps and tallow candles at this grave and they have a legend that an Arab woman gave birth to forty sons, they all died here and were buried here.” He adds in a footnote on the same page: “That is a generally known legend of the Turks and we meet it everywhere. See on this Prilep and its surroundings 79-80.”17

Map 2

16 Perhaps it is the grave of Hasan-baba. He was probably a member of a religious sect. For many of the kind that appeared in Bitola through the centuries of Ottoman rule, of whom a few may well have been buried on the Tepsija hill, although not evidently, see Tefik, pp. 31-47.
17 Hadži-Vasiljević, op. cit., p. 22 with n. 21.
The work on Prilep indeed contains a strikingly similar description: there was over Prilep a place called Krklar (“The Forty”, corresponding (?), as Hadži-Vasiljević notes, to the Christian Forty Martyrs, 09.03) where Turkish women came every Friday and lit tallow candles, as the “Serbs” of the town said, for the souls of their predecessors killed by Marko Krale during the conquest of Prilep, as Cepenkov wrote.\(^\text{18}\) Next to that place was another, which the same women approached in the same way, and it was called Karataš, which means “Black stone”. Sterjovski’s explanation again proves to be deficient. Hadži-Vasiljević clearly says that the place he knew to be united with this Muslim legend is in the same part of the town where Cepenkov led his readers (north-west, under the hill), although it is unusual to the modern reader that the name Bair is used for that region. It becomes more probable now that Cepenkov was not the victim of a mere misunderstanding and that there was a “Krk-kardaš” before Krk-kardaš. But that is not the only evidence for such a genuine Muslim sanctuary.

The most valuable and archaic version of the legend about Krk-kardaš, according to Sterjovski, is the oral one told to him by the seventy year old then pensioner of Turkish origin, Mr. Feti Alievski. He said that at Krk-kardaš there was a military camp of a division of the Ottoman army that participated in the conquest of the town. The inhabitants of Bitola tried to bribe these forty soldiers with as many girls, but failed. All forty died during the attack on the town and all were buried at the site, with the only exception of their leader, who was buried in one of the two graves at Gorni Drven pazar in Bitola (Upper Wood market). But this is not the only known expression of such a version of the legend. Here it is evident that the legend about Krk-kardaš is only a part of the wider legend about the conquest of the town by the Ottomans. Taking the opposite direction now, the beginning belongs to Tefik:

\"When the Ottomans went to subdue the town of Bitola, its inhabitants fought bitterly against the Ottomans for a few days. When they saw that they would not be able to resist them, they tried to calm down the fire that burst out from the direction of the Ottomans with an act that at first sight looked like a kind of hospitality. The janissaries that had pitched their tents near the famous church of St. Kyriake (Sv. Nedela, built in 1863), one that is even today well equipped and exists beside Bitola on its northern side, saw thirty eight young girls approaching them at sunset. Timurtaš-bey, the commander of the Ottoman army, accepted the gifts, for the girls had brought different kinds of food and other things, being sent to also challenge the morality of the Ottomans. He distributed the drink and the food to the janissary army, but gave them so much money, that was ten times the cost of what they brought and besides that he gave a present to each and every one of them. In meantime, after the most amiable reception, the night had settled down. He immediately ordered that the necessary number of tents be emptied and within them he placed the girls mentioned. And in order for them not to suffer any damage and to remove their doubts and fears, before each tent he put a guard of janissaries, trustworthy and people of age that until dawn kept watch and vigilantly took care of their peace and calm. The next day, early in the morning, after he said farewell to them, he sent them out with an escort of about ten most trustworthy and honest janissaries of age to accompany them.

Surprised by this reception of their girls beyond any expectation and especially amazed at the understanding the Ottomans had shown this time, the lord of Bitola immediately after the return of the girls mentioned sent to Timurtaš-bey the priest Nicholas, the head of the Monastery of St. Kyriake, who had taken refuge in the town and had left the monastery in fear of the Turks. He asked for mercy, promising that he would be forever faithful to the Ottoman

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state. Timurtaş-paša showed extraordinary justice towards the population of Bitola that had surrendered to him. The story goes that at the same moment one hundred and thirteen people, a hundred from the very town and thirteen from the surroundings, converted to Islam.

However, by order of Timurtaş-bey, for safety reasons, the fortress of Bitola was razed to the ground. The fortress was on a hill called Reverse-grinding watermill (Kriva vodenica). That hill is even today called Kale-bair (Fortress hill).¹⁹

The camping place of the Ottoman army here obviously agrees with the one in Feti’s tale and a similar number of girls, thirty eight in this narrative, strengthen the similarity. What is missing here are the forty soldiers who died and were buried there. But it is clear that Tefik didn’t have fuller knowledge of the legend for the taking over of Bitola and couldn’t add more, which he would have surely done if it were possible. What is especially interesting in this version are the two quite different names for the same hill, the one with fortress on it: Reverse-grinding watermill and Fortress hill. It has already been said that the Reverse-grinding watermill is no hill, but a place under a hill. It seems that this equation can be explained only if one excludes an identification with the modern part of Bitola called Bair, which lies so attractively under the slopes of the hill with the known Krk-kardaš. And truly, it is not Bair, but Kale-bair. It is difficult to speak of modern Krk-kardaš as being near the Bitola fortress. There could be a guard detachment on the hill over Krk-kardaš, but hardly a fortress so far from the Reverse-grinding watermill and the great church on a high hill over the river Dragor. That leaves Krk-kardaš far away, in the area of the Ottoman camp, nearer to the modern church of St. Kyriake, which probably didn’t exist at the time of the conquest.²⁰ But this places doubt on the legend written down by Ace Kanare. If the ancient, pre-Ottoman church of the Saint Forty Martyrs of Sebaste was on the same site as the modern one with the same name, how is it possible that the Bitola slab, originating probably from the same area, testifies to a (re)construction of the fortress? Such a slab would have been placed on the very gate of the fortress and that is too far from the great church to the southwest of Raštani and from the Reverse-grinding watermill. The location of Herakleia similarly can’t be taken into consideration and the low position of Ottoman and modern Bitola doesn’t seem to be safe enough for the age, although it is probable that there existed churches and simple low class dwellings downtown. One has to admit the possibility that both the church and the slab were somewhere over the Reverse-grinding watermill, far away from the modern Krk-kardaš, which leaves it free for Muslim occupation and sanctification. That, however, brings other trouble. Why and how would Sungur Čauš-bey bring the material for the adaptation of a previous church on the bank of Dragor into a mosque from so far and so high away? Or not from high, but just beside the river? If there was a church dedicated to the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebaste on a lower position beside the river, closer rather to the Reverse-grinding watermill, which can be proven in no way, then such an enterprise seems credible and the account of the two contemporaries understandable.²¹ The church at the Reverse-grinding

¹⁹ Tefik, p. 18.
²⁰ To my amazement, I found an opinion that this church dedicated to St. Kyriake was to be found near Herakleia, at the place called Crkvište. Todorovski, op. cit., p. 33, n. 92.
²¹ Certainly, this line of thought follows the assumption that only the Ottoman conquerors were capable of and interested in bringing down and preserving the slab of John Vladislav by adapting it into a threshold of their first mosque in the town, which is not certain. One thing, however, is certain: the available written sources together with the material remains are very silent on the period 1018-1385. There is no data about a previous destruction and/or reconstruction of the fortress by the invading Byzantines, Latins or anyone else. See: Аџиевски, Коста. Пелагонија во Средниот век. Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1994, стр. 59, бел. 62 [Adžievski, Kosta. Pelagonia in the Middle Ages. Skopje: Institute for national history, 1994, p. 59, n. 62]. There is even a third possibility, namely that the fortress of John Vladislav remained deserted and untouched for a long time, right...
watermill would be called especially by the Turkish-speaking population through a logical translation and simplification with the same name as their sanctuary far away, on the site of the modern Krk-kardaš. Cepenkov (and even Vasiljević) would easily and wrongly connect the living Muslim tradition with the ruined church, because as an Orthodox Christian he would only have heard the Muslim story of Krk-kardaš, without visiting and checking the place it described. But, as there was already for a long time no church activity at the Orthodox “Krk-kardaš” for it to tell a different and true story about that site, albeit with an adapted name, a misunderstanding could relate it to the Muslim legend. Perhaps the opposite in the case of Kanare. However probable this may appear, it is definitely not provable. Now again Cepenkov, who recorded two legends for the fall of Bitola:

**Legend No 599 (LEGEND ABOUT THE TOWN OF BITOLA):** “Before the Turks came to take over the town of Bitola, it was then also built in the area of the village Bukovo. That this was in the area of Bukovo is proven by the foundations found in all of the fields around Bukovo. The village of Bukovo is about an hour’s walk from the town of Bitola to the west.

About half an hour from the village of Bukovo there is a mound (tumba) that was called Bori-kale, as on that mound there was in that time a fortress constructed by king Toljo. There are vineyards on that mound now. Years ago the headman (muhtar) Costa had a dream about some money in the vineyard he had there; digging he found no money, but found stones from the sea, carved columns and other things. He also found a grave made of marble, cut as a trough and covered with a single slab of marble; the slab was inscribed with letters that nobody could read.

After Costa dug out those things and didn’t find money, he went to the head of the town (reiz) and told him about that. The whole town council (beledie) rose and went there and carried away to Bitola all those stones that were useful. The whole of Bitola had transferred itself to see that miracle found on Bori-kale. They took the grave to a tap at the barracks (k’šli) to serve as a trough and they took the cover at the café of Abdi-paša and put it on a tap there. They stand to this very day.

Under the mound of Bori-kale there were foundations of a church; on those foundations years ago the Greek party built a church. Around the church they made graves ordered by tile (ćerpija/regula?). Between the mound of Bori-kale and the church there was a treasury buried by king Toljo. According to what old people say, as king Toljo escaped, many searched for that treasury. French people dug there with imperial permission, but nobody found it nor will it be found, for it was dedicated by king Toljo to the one who knows when to find it. In the vineyards, the fields, the meadows, wherever you dig, you will find foundations everywhere; one can tell where the streets were, and they are said to be quite wide and straight.

When the Turks were taking over our places, they came to take over Bitola as well and although they were taking it over from two sides, one army came from the direction of Prilep and another from that of Voden (Edessa), still they could not easily take it over, for king Toljo fought from the fortress and the monks that were in the seventy two monasteries, they also defended themselves, so they were troubled quite some time before they took over Bitola. King Toljo was then surrounded from all sides, but he had made his fortress on the mound with a trick in order for the Turks to think that it was made of iron, for he had covered it with colored boards so that it would look like iron and the Turks would imagine it as being of iron. And it really appeared so to them and they, the Turks, were all the time afraid to charge.

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until the Ottoman conquest, while the other conquerors in the meantime had their base over the ancient Herakleia. However it may be, this paper definitely doesn’t intend to shed new light on the obscurity that is medieval Bitola.
For quite some time did king Toljo fight the Turks, although he had only a small Bulgar army. However, he knew that he would not be able to endure. The name of Bori-kale remained from that time, Bitola’s inhabitants calling that mound Bori-kale. And the name of the town of Bitola was given by king Toljo when he saw that the Turks would capture him and escaped. (I describe that in the taking over of Bitola). When the Bulgars found out that king Toljo escaped, they told each other: Bi Toljo, dobi Toljo! (Fight, Toljo, win, Toljo! or Toljo fought, Toljo won!) From that word, said then by the Bulgars, there remained the name for the town of Bitola: Bitola.”

Now things become much clearer. Cepenkov had definitely got lost in his legends. He makes here the obvious mistake of confusing ancient Heraklea for medieval Bitola, perhaps due to a “Greek party” source. The detailed description at the beginning of this narrative leaves no doubt. It is not clear whether he meant that the village of Bukovo was to the west of Bitola or the opposite. However it may be, it is a misunderstanding of his, for Heraklea is to the south of modern Bitola, and the medieval fortress, as it appears, must have been to the north. The “mound” is definitely Tumbe-kafe and the church that dedicated to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, at the so-called “Bukovo cemetery” (Bukovski grobišta), quite far from that village and under the hill. There are three further points that should be made in connection to this legend. First, the popular version about the fall of Bitola clearly included a group of local monks in arms that fought the Ottomans. Second, the only mound-like hill in the area of Bitola that could plausibly be identified with the medieval Bori-kale is the one just over the Reverse-grinding watermill, although the control-exavication performed there around the German cemetery of World War I didn’t discover any corroborative evidence.22 Third, it seems that there must have
been a church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste among the seventy two.

Legend No 673 (HOW DID THE TURKS TAKE OVER THE TOWN OF BITOLA):
“...When the Turks arrived at Bitola, they didn’t find the easy challenge they found at Prilep, for Bitola had a head over its small army: king Toljo had fought vigorously against the Turks. For nearly four months the people of Bitola fought the Turks and killed many of them. However, because the Bulgars were very few in comparison to the Turks, they could not repel them and, one day after another, the army of Toljo decreased and they finally surrendered the keys. However, king Toljo did not surrender to the Turks that easily, for he had made a trick, according to the trick of Marko Krale that he had made at Marko’s towers [Markovi kuli] (at Varoš, when he set up drums on wind); in the same way did king Toljo at first cover the fortress all around with boards colored in iron-color in order for the fortress to appear to the Turks as being of iron. He had also set up drums on wind to blow at the fortress, and so one night he had found his end and had got out of the fortress, escaped and left the Bori-kale, for he had convinced himself that he would not be able to fight the Turks and win, as the Turks were too many and Toljo had help from nowhere.

With that in place, the Turks had stood in fear of the fortress for a long time, for it seemed to them as being of iron and they listened to the drums beating inside. However, it was not only that God was helping the Turks, but even the ants did. An old granny had heard that king Toljo had covered the fortress with boards colored in iron-color and had put drums on wind, but he himself had escaped from the fortress, so she went to the Turks and told them about that. When the Turks heard those words from the granny, they believed her and entered the fortress, taking it over without any rifle shot.

Adam the painter (Adamče zugraot) told me only (he or that?) about an experiment that king Toljo did to the Turks in order for him to see of what quality they were, just or sinful. King Toljo had sent a few girls from the fortress, they being among the fairest, to the Turkish army, that were to pretend to be sellers of things there and to sleep near the army. The girls went and slept under the tents of the Turkish army and in the morning they went back to king Toljo. King Toljo was informed that no soldier molested them, although the girls had teased them. However, the Turkish soldiers neither turned an eye on them nor touched them with a single finger, being that honest these soldiers. When king Toljo had understood of what quality the Turkish army was, he had convinced himself that he would be beaten and so escaped.

After the Turks had conquered the fortress, they razed it to the ground (erlen beraber); as the fortress, so also the churches and the whole town was ruined after they plundered and conquered it.

Now only a single monastery was left for them to take over; that monastery was the modern mosque that is in Bitola at the Sheep market (Ovčki pazar). That mosque was a monastery with the temple dedicated to St. George. There were four hundred monks in that monastery. It was surrounded by a big and thick wall, being a true fortress. Besides the wall that was strong, there to be a branch of Pelister, although on p. 22 he mentions a legend for the coming of the Turks from the direction of the Bair, where the fortress was. If the whole of the huge hill mass was called by some Bair, then it is not strange for the great church and modern Krk-kardaš to be both placed by them on the same “hill”. In 1956 the inhabitants of the village of Raštani (2 km north of Bitola) told the story of king Toljo’s resistance against the Ottomans as fortified on the site called Kale to the west of their village. They also considered their village church dedicated to St. Nicholas to be older than the town of Bitola. See: Трифуноски, Јован Ф. Битољско-прилепска котлина: антропогеографска проучавања. Српски етнографски зборник XCIX. Одељење друштvenih наука. Насеља и порекло становништва. Књига 45. Београд: САНУ, 1998, стр. 253-4 [Trifunoski, Jovan F. The valley of Bitola and Prilep: anthropogeographic studies. Serbian ethnographic collection XCIX. Department of social sciences. Settlements and origin of inhabitants. Book 45. Belgrade: SANU, 1998, pp. 253-4].
was thick forest of mature trees, one next to the other like rye growing in a field, so thick was the forest, so that nobody could easily find the place of the monastery. In front of the monastery there ran the river Dragor or the river that comes from the village of Magarevo at the Reverse-grinding watermill. In order for someone to enter the monastery there was only a single narrow path through the forest that was around the monastery. When the monastery remained the last to be taken over by the Turks, at first they didn’t know where the monastery was, for it was surrounded by trees.

The damned granny that told about the fortress of Toljo, again it was she that betrayed the great monastery dedicated to St. George in order for them to find it and take it over. She told them that there was a great monastery with many monks, hidden in the great forest and in order for them to find the monastery, they were supposed to go by the river that flew through the forest, after that they would find many ducks and should follow them and the very ducks would bring them to the gate of the monastery.

After the monks noticed that the Turks found the monastery, they were convinced that they were going to be killed and as they had no intention of surrendering to the Turks, as some monasteries with only a few monks surrendered, they firmly closed the gates and sharpened the swords and knives, prepared their other arms as well and hid in one of the cells, pretending to have escaped.

After the Turks unlocked and opened the gates of the great monastery, five hundred Turks agreed and stormed the monastery. However, although the monks were pious, they were deeply offended and cut them all down to the last and only then closed the gate. There was enough food and drink for a long time for the monks in the monastery, but when the head of the Turks realized that the five hundred who entered the great monastery hadn’t returned, he got very angry and sent a great force to attack the monastery and save those five hundred men. For the monastery had a strong fortress and the thick forest that was around the monastery was even stronger, they could in no way get to the monastery. Furthermore, the commander ordered the whole forest around the monastery to be cut down and chopped to smaller pieces of wood which would be thrown over the wall into the yard of the monastery. The Turks did it. Half of the wood they had arranged outside of the wall, in a great pile, and they had put it on fire from one end to the other and as the fire spread the flames almost reached the clouds. From the outer strength of the fire the pile inside got also ignited and by that strong fire the cells together with the whole of the monastery started to burn, the monks were completely incinerated and so they took over this monastery too.

After the Turks conquered all the monasteries, they destroyed all of them and on each monastery they made a mosque. Everywhere the Turks took over towns at that time, rarely did they ruin a church or a monastery in a town, for they were pious and were afraid of the saint, but in the town of Bitola they were not afraid of the seventy two saints that were in the churches, for they had become very angry with the monks because they killed those five hundred Turks that entered the great monastery. And so over that monastery (St. George) the Turks made a mosque, which is at the Sheep market. Behind the mosque of St. George there is an empty place where there is a foot of the horse of St. George, who then came very fast and wherever the horse would step its feet would sink and the Turks could make nothing in the form of a building, for the saint would not allow it..."

Cepenkov begins this narrative with the legend about the peaceful Ottoman taking over of Prilep and ends it with a list of the churches in Bitola that the Ottomans turned into mosques. Both are irrelevant to this discussion. The legend about the conquest of the fortress of Bitola is
in an expanded form of the core given in the previous narrative. Here emerges another version of the experiment with the girls, but although it was told by a local Christian, it is not clear whether it is of Christian or Muslim origin.\(^2\) The information that the Ottomans razed the fortress of Bitola to the ground (erlen beraber) explains why it is difficult if not impossible to identify any remains of it today beside the slab.\(^4\) It agrees with the fact that it is easier to find medieval traces in the modern town center, around the cathedral church. What is especially valuable in this narrative is the legend about the taking over of the monastery dedicated to St. George, which is to be found nowhere else. This legend only might have something to do with Krk-kardaš, but it is anyway very interesting for the appearance of local monks in it and it was definitely used by the monks of Bigorski for their story, albeit to a limited extent. Although it is far from the Sheep market and with no mosque over it, the great church north-west of the town well fits the condition of the monastery being a true fortress within a thick forest.\(^5\) However it may have been then, this legend clearly states that these four hundred monks were enraged and “cold-bloodedly” killed five hundred Turks before they were incinerated by the fire of Ottoman revenge and their monastery turned into a mosque.

The end of the overview of the available testimonies about Krk-kardaš is dedicated to the “purely” Christian oral legend in a few versions, which also found a reflection in contemporary literature. In a paper on the toponymy of the area of Bitola we read the following explanation for the place name Krk-kardaš:

“Church of the Forty Martyrs: north of Bitola, according to the legend at this place the Turks brutally killed forty insurgents, in the memory of this event a church was built in the

\(^{2}\) The thought of these girls being a Muslim mockery of original monks is tempting and nothing more than that.
\(^{4}\) The stone at Krk-kardaš, today built in the temple with one half and stretching outside with the other, at which candles are lit, can hardly be qualified as a construction piece and it is not certain that the wall in which the Bitola slab was inserted in the first place was made of stone.
\(^{5}\) Todorovski, op. cit., p. 95 perhaps prefers this identification, although his sentence is evidently not complete. He doesn’t seem to believe that it is possible for the locality Stari grobovi (Old graves) near the village of Raštani over Bitola to be the necropolis of a medieval Bitola around this church or monastery (p. 96). Hadži-Vasiljević, op. cit., p. 19, tells a different story, namely that the Yeni-džami (New mosque, called by the Turks and by him Nal-džamisi, which means “Mosque with horseshoes”, on Pekmez pazar) was built over the church dedicated to St. George the Victory-bearing and that the previous church under the mosque at the Sheep market was dedicated to the Holy Apostles (p. 20). He reports on p. 19 that Pavle Ristić, a mason from the village of Smilevo, while repairing the New mosque in 1893 found many inscribed stone slabs, which he “erased” and inserted in the mosque on Turkish demand. As they would hardly decide to destroy Muslim epitaphs, this encourages further research with two hypotheses: continuity of life in the Dragor valley from antiquity and/or organized large-scale transportation of ancient pagan architectural pieces and inscriptions of material quality from Herakleia to the river valley for the construction of representative Christian temples. Recent excavations there uncovered other interesting indications: Михајловски, Роберт. Битолската Јени џамија во светлината на најновите археолошки откритија. Патримониум.мк, год. 2, бр. 3-4 & 5-6, Скопје, 2008-9, стр. 185-7 [Mihajlovski, Robert. The Yeni-džami in Bitola in the light of the most recent archaeological discoveries. Patrimonium.mk, year 2, n° 3-4 & 5-6, Skopje, 2008-9, pp. 185-7]. However, I don’t think that there is any sound basis for us to believe either Cepenkov or Hadži-Vasiljević on the name. On some uncertainties about the great church, Todorovski, op. cit., p. 114. The same author finally concludes that it is only possible for medieval Bitola to be the continuation of ancient Herakleia (pp. 152-8), something one could hardly agree with, although he seems to insist upon it: Тодоровски, Стевче. Т. н. „микростанбена целина врз театарот” во античкиот град Хераклеја Линкестис. Патримониум.мк, год. 3, бр. 7-8, Скопје, 2010, стр. 111-8 [Todorovski, Stevče. The so-called “micro dwelling unit over the theater” at the ancient town of Heraclea Lyncestis. Patrimonium.mk, year 3, n° 7-8, Skopje, 2010, pp. 111-8]. An interesting, albeit forced compromise can be found in: Томооски, Томо. Како топонимот „Манастир” се наложил како втор назив на Битола. Годишни зборник на Филозофскиот факултет 19 (45), Скопје, 1992, стр. 93-103 [Tomooski, Tomo. How did the toponym “Manastir” come to be a second name for Bitola. Annual of the Faculty of philosophy 19 (45), Skopje, 1992, pp. 93-103].
area and every spring on a certain day people go to the small church (that day is called KRK-KARDAŠ by the people). After this event and after the small church with the same name, the locality was named with the contemporary name."

On the occasion of the public appeal for financial support of the expansion of the previous small temple at Krk-kardaš, people were encouraged to participate by the retelling of this legend, clearly considered to be a genuine Orthodox Christian one. Here is what Mr. Stevče Todorovski wrote then:

“The monastery ‘St. Forty Martyrs’ in Bitola is to be found at the locality called ‘Krk-kardaš’, which means forty brothers in Turkish.

The town of Bitola with its position was well known in the world of Byzantium and with the arrival of the first Turkish clans in Macedonia their interest in conquering this very town together with its surroundings increased. After it was conquered, and it was according to the legend located at the locality called ‘Bair’, as the last unconquered obstruction remained the male monastery on the opposite side of the hill. Inside the monastery lived forty monks and they were prepared at any moment to resist the Turks during an eventual taking over of the monastery as well, that being according to the many examples in the Holy Scriptures where the defense of holiness, truth and justice in armed battle is described.

One day the Turks surrounded the monastery and the battle to conquer began. The monks, not wanting to break the canons, waited to be attacked and only then to use weapons in self-defense. They defended the monastery for a long time, which was the last stronghold in this region, but the great number of Turks started to climb the walls of the monastery and a face-to-face battle began in which the monks fought bravely, but were killed one by one by the outnumbering Turks. The church bells were heard as a sign that the monastery was still defended, but when the last monk fell, the bells stopped ringing.

After they took it over, the Turks plundered the church and set it on fire together with the overnight stay (konaci) and leveled the walls to the ground.

But, our Macedonian people kept the memory of the Forty Monk-martyrs to this day and at that place constructed a small parecclesia dedicated to the Holy Forty Martyrs, relating the event to the Forty Martyrs of Sebastopolis in the frozen lake.

The legend was handed down from generation to generation and the locality got the name ‘Krk-kardaš’, which in Turkish means forty comrades.”

Only one thing in this text especially deserves comment. Probably somebody counted on the ignorance of the general public when he said that the Holy Scriptures contain many examples of armed (self)defense of holiness, truth and justice by the canons. But, as one’s theological knowledge may not be as limited as someone else would wish and expect, one is called upon to act in defense of holiness, truth and justice by the canons by explicitly stating that such an excuse as is given here is pure nonsense. While armed defense can only with difficulty be condemned and rather understood in the case of common people, in the Old and the New Testament, as far as monks are concerned there is no doubt that no plausible justification

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can be offered for such an act. Monks that took arms are definitely no longer monks and even theoretically they can’t be cleaned from such a great sin, i.e. baptized again in their own blood. Such a thing was possible in the case of St. Demetrius the Myrrh-streaming of Thessalonika or in that of St. George the Victory-bearing, who had both killed many offenders of earthly authority, but were subsequently tortured and killed by their own antichristian emperors, for whom they had previously fought against barbarians, in a burning confession of their living faith in Christ. Similar is the case with the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and only slightly different that of the Holy Forty Two Martyrs of Amorium. In other words, they were washed from all their sins by the bath of their own blood and only in that way they became holy martyrs. That is clearly unthinkable in the case of monks, for previous bloodshed from one’s own hands is impossible for someone who wants to fully follow the Lamb that surrendered Himself to torture and crucifixion for the sins of mankind, the only violence on His side in the process being the condemned cutting-off of the ear of one of the high priest’s servants by the hand of the Apostle Peter.

A small mention of such a legend, of forty monks killed by the Ottomans after giving armed resistance, can be found in a recently published novel, a travel book full of history, where the main story about Krk-kardaš is the one of the improvised construction of the first parecclesia there, near the remarkable stone where these “defenders” are said to have been decapitated.

The only novel that thoroughly exploits the legend of Krk-kardaš for literary purposes, it being the leit-motif around which everything else revolves, is The Small Church of Forty Martyrs in Bitola by the local writer Vladimir Kostov. But even there one finds no doubt about the main version being that of forty monks that fought the Turks, as the author puts it, by the cross in one hand and by the sword in the other. The main theme is the process of the construction of the first parecclesia on the site. He also mentions a handwritten diary of a school-teacher from Bitola in which allegedly in 1874 was put down on paper the first written version of the legend about the forty “martyrs” (rather social than religious for Kostov). According to that diary, the forty monks belonged to the white monastery dedicated to St. Athanasius, which was on the Hill (Bair). It was the last monastery to be destroyed, only in the age of the great vezir Mehmed-paša Sokolović, who issued such an order while preparing the town for the coming of the sultan. However, there is good reason to believe that this version has been invented by Kostov because he also gives a few details, as he says, taken from the chronicle of Ašik-paša Zede, while there is definitely no such information in that chronicle. Kostov also gives the seemingly important information that the people of Bitola gathered every first Thursday after Easter (awaiting Eastern Friday – Balakli?) at the Reverse-grinding watermill on the place where foundations of a church could be seen. His character Janakija the Hill-dweller (Bairčanecot), on the other hand, knew of a previously destroyed temple on the site of Krk-kardaš that was to be merely restored by Momir and Džiška. When it was built without the permission of any church

31 Similarly, Todorovski, Archaeological finds, p. 105.

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party in the town (Exarchy or Patriarchy), which is given an ecumenist/panreligious undertone by Kostov, Janakija entered inside carrying a sword and the icon of the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. Furthermore, another impressive character, Trajko Popot, states that at Krk-kardaš were killed both Christians and Muslims for a just deed, which introduces the possibility of a double cult on the same spot.

The only fair conclusion is a final confrontation with the Bigorski brotherhood. The only unavailable real testimony that they used is that of the great-grandfather of their archimandrite Parthenius, who, as we are told, had written down in his diary a detailed version of the legend about the forty. This diary was very dear to father Parthenius, as were some other memories from his childhood spent near Krk-kardaš. It was kept in the library of the Bigorski monastery, where on 30 September 2009 it was destroyed together with all of the other books in the great fire that caught the monastery’s Upper palace (Gorni palat). There appears to be no paper or digital copy of it. We are left only with the memory of father Parthenius to rely upon, but nowhere in the small book are we told what exactly was written in the diary according to the grandchild’s memory. It is said that among many other everyday events Vasil Stojanov, who had graduated in theology in Sofia, described his impressions of the visits to the temple at Krk-kardaš (already established!) and in that context gave a detailed account of the legend about the monk-martyrs. However, nowhere in this book do we find a footnote to tell us that some specific details in the story of the forty are derived right from the memories of this diary’s content (perhaps Hasan?).

On the contrary, immediately after the general information about the diary we are confronted with a strange and striking statement that it was not only necessary to search through historical works that would provide corroborative evidence, but also and especially in the belles-lettres that, believe it or not, “in great measure compensate for and explain the oral tradition”. And this only after it is written at the beginning of the foreword that “sometimes we are forced to guess history from ruins and from oral folk legends and tales”. There is no way to determine what is the historic core here and what the folk admixture. It is clear that guessing is neither in the realm of history nor in that of hagiography/theology and it really doesn’t seem necessary to go into any further detail in the unmasking of this pseudo-hagiographical forgery, fiction full of figures, footnotes and other cosmetics, which would definitely leave the conscious reader with the impression that he is dealing with another communist decree that nobody is to challenge, however absurd and outrageous it may be. All measures of precaution have been taken and subsequently thrown to the dogs, without asking for anyone else’s opinion. This may sound too harsh and even emotional, but there is no sound logic or theology in the emotional sanction of the existence of a church, the gathering of people at a stone and perhaps some miracles there by the deus ex machina of local saints, contrary to obviously too complex and negative evidence and naively relying only on the words of a few dear old people. I’m not held back by the praising words of Metropolitan Peter at the very beginning, in which there is not the slightest trace of doubt, although in a recorded statement at Krk-kardaš on 22 March 2008 he made no announcement for a planned canonization. Even the significant participation of the official hymnography of Constantinople cannot come to the rescue of such an “apology”. I should be satisfied to have given here the available evidence about the nature of Krk-kardaš and shown to the scientific and general public that there is no decisive proof even of the existence, not to

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34 I wish to confirm here that I am in no way connected to the group of Zoran Vranškoski. www.haemus.mk
speak of sanctity of such local characters from the Middle Ages, more than six centuries ago, centuries of decrease and humiliation for the Christians... The prayers to such are of no help when there is no evidence neither for an ancient martyrology nor for an uninterrupted through time oral historical tradition. No archaeological or archival evidence of a local cult to encourage scientific research, no strong and distinctive consciousness spread across the population of Bitola to explain the spontaneous gathering at the stone. There is also no way to confirm, as the brotherhood claims, that the day of the passion of the alleged local ones was the same with that of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. The examples of St. Agathangelus and St. Nectarius of Bitola serve only the rebuke of the act enforced, for they were both for a long time unknown to the people of Bitola, but had entered Orthodox hagiography and the calendar immediately after their passion and death respectively. I’m not saying that the Muslim version of Feti is the only one that reflects the truth, but I can’t fully reject that possibility, as well as the one that the sanctuary was only temporarily taken over by Muslims. Certainly, there is no good enough reason to believe in any single version and discredit all the other, or even that there ever was a single version. It is certainly possible that both traditions, Christian and Muslim, contain some historic core deep inside, reflecting some sort of a double cult at Krk-kardaš. Furthermore, it is definitely probable that the legend of the forty Christian defenders reflects a popular incomplete knowledge of the life and passion of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, which turned them into local ones with the help of time and not the opposite, and perhaps of the existence of a pre-Ottoman church dedicated to these ancient Christian saints among the seventy two in the valley of Dragor, there being in Bitola a “Krk-kardaš” (Christian?) before Krk-kardaš (Muslim?), which turned the church into a “grave”… and the grave into a “church”? However it may be, it is clear that in Orthodoxy one doesn’t become a martyr by shedding the blood of infidels for “freedom”, but by being (tortured and) killed by them for one’s belief in Christ. The other canonization on the occasion, that of the Holy Monk-martyrs Evnuius, Paisius and Avercius of Prečista (monastery in the area of Kičevo), can be defended only by the fact that they didn’t pose any armed resistance. Everything else is an undermining of the principles of local and global true Christianity. Still, the newly composed story includes the mention that monks and priests took weapons for the defense of the town to the last drop of blood, like some sort of Knights Templar. The brotherhood’s asking for forgiveness of any possible unintentional mistakes and omissions, pleading for it not to be taken as a sin, only confirms how unserious they were in this undertaking of theirs. Having defeated the suicidal argumentum ex silentio, we are left with the “consolation” of the apocalyptic literary vision of Vladimir Kostov and perhaps that of Dragi Mihajlovski. For further archival and archaeological research we will probably have to wait,  


36 Hasan, the Turk allegedly won over by the monks’ defense of Christ’s faith, extraordinarily corresponding to the dungeon-keeper Aglaeus, could well be a sign of an adaptation of the life of the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.  

while being encouraged by the Bigorski monks with their “mystic” knowledge that the first parecclesia, existing at the site of Krk-kardaš before the construction of the small church in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was built there in the middle of the XIX century…

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APPENDIX

I apologize for not having noticed earlier and included in my article a small excerpt from a document of the archbishop of Ohrid Demetrius Chomatenus (1217-1234), one that doesn’t influence the conclusion, but has some factographical and bibliographical value. It is the mention of the archimandrite Methodius as the head of all the monasteries in the area of Bitola (there only Pelagonia), residing in the Monastery of the Holy Apostles: «Ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἀρχιμανδρίτης τῶν κατὰ Πελαγονίαν ἱερῶν προκαθημένος τῆς ἁγίας μονῆς τῶν ἁγίων και ἑνδόξων πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων, ὁ ἱερομόναχος Μεθόδιος, παραστάς τὴν σήμερον τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προκαθημένην συνοδικός, ανήγερκεν, ὡς τῶν κληρικῶν τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς Πελαγονίας…» (Demetrii Chomatenii Ponemata diaphora [Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, volumen XXXVIII, Series Berolinensis], recensuit Günter Prinzing, Walter de Gruyter, Berolini et Novi Eboraci, MMII, 79, 1-6, p. 264). One understands why the monastery Treskavec near Prilep, as it appears, had no real-estate in Central Pelagonia in the age of Stefan Dushan, but had some in its southernmost part (Adžievski, op. cit., p. 188). On the history of the Pelagonian episcopate, see: Михајловски, Роберт. Преглед на христијанска историја на Пелагонија и архиерешите хераклејско-пелагониски до 1767 година. Приложи (Зборник на трудови на Друштвото за наука и уметност – Битола), XXXIII, I, бр. 54/55 (1993), стр. 3-20 [Mihajlovski, Robert. An overview of the Christian history of Pelagonia and the Heraclean-Pelagonian archpriests until the year of 1767. Contributions (Collection of works of the Society for science and art – Bitola), XXXIII, I, nº 54/55 (1993), pp. 3-20]. In the census of 1468 the Turkish officials immediately after those of the town of Bitola listed the inhabitants of a village called Dupka (Hole) or Apostol (Apostle), which may have been next to the mentioned monastery (Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ: опширни пописни дефтери од XV век. Том II. Под редакција на Методија Соколоски. Скопје: Архив на Македонија, 1973, стр. 145 [Turkish documents for the history of the Macedonian people: detailed census books from the XV century. Vol. II. Ed. Metodija Sokoloski. Skopje: Archive of Macedonia, 1973, p. 145]). It is also worth noting that not long before the publishing of this article Metropolitan Peter resanctified the corresponding church in Bitola (13/26 October), which was a little more than a month before the inclusion of Čet’rse (celebration of the Forty Martyrs in the town of Štip) as an immaterial good in UNESCO’s Representative list of protected goods of humanity (05.12). On the incompatibility of Christian priesthood (and monasticism) and military service, even in defense, and beyond, one can consult: Matthew 6. 24, 22. 21 & 26. 51-54; Marc 14. 47; Luke 22. 49-51; John 18. 10-11 & 25-27; Timothy II, 2. 3-5; Apocalypse, 13. 9-10; Apostolic canons 6, 81 & 83 (with editor’s footnotes); Fourth (Chalcedonian, 451) ecumenical council – canon 7; Canons of St. Basil the Great 8, 13, 43 & 55 (with editor’s footnotes); Canon of St. Gregory of Nyssa 5… (Свештени канони на Светата Православна Црква. Велес: Повардарска епархија – „Св. Горги Половчи“, 2011 [Sacred canons of the Holy Orthodox Church. Veles: Povardarska eparchy – “St. George of Polog”, 2011]).
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**Ioannis Scylitzae.** Synopsis historiarum,editio princeps [Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, volumen V, Series Berolinensis], recensuit Ioannes Thurn, apud Walter De Gruyter et socios Berolini et Novi Eboraci, MCMLXXIII, Basil and Constantine, 36. 36-45, p. 351.


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